

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

This article was published in a quarterly journal Islamic Culture that was published from Hyderabad India.

## LAHORE

(Being an Account of Lahore Compiled from Original Sources)

### NAME AND DATE OF FOUNDATION

THE early history of Lahore is enveloped in a mist of traditions, conjectures, and guesses, and it must be frankly admitted that from the available sources of information it is not possible to arrive at any definite conclusions about the earliest name and the date of foundation of the city. Definite references to this town have been made only by the early Arab geographers and Muslim historians, and these, along with other references to Lahore of a later period, will be discussed here in their chronological order.

Al-Balādhurī (Aḥmad bin Yaḥyā), who lived at the court of Baghdād towards the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era, during the *Khilāfat* of the 'Abbāsi Khalifa Mu'tamid (256 A.H./870 A.D.—279 A.H./892 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> and died in 279 A.H./892 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> is one of the earliest Arab chroniclers, and he gives an account of the first conquests of the Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Iran, Armenia, Trans-Oxonia, Africa, Spain, and Sindh, in his famous book, *Futūḥul Buldān*. He calls Lahore by the name of al-Āhvār.

ثم غزا ذلك الثغر المهلب ابن أبي صفرة في ايام معاوية سنة ٢٥٠ فاقى بنة والاوار وها بين الملتان  
وكابل ٣

Then-al-Muhallab son of Abū-Ṣufrah raided this frontier in the days of Mu'āviyah in the year 44. He reached Bannah (Bannū) and al-Āhvār, which lie between Multan and Kabul.<sup>4</sup>

After al-Balādhurī we find Lahore mentioned in a geographical treatise, entitled *Hudūdul 'Ālam*, which was compiled in 372 A.H./982 A.D. The author of this work is not known but this is what he remarks about Lahore :

لهور شهرست با ناحيت بسيار و سلطانش از دست امير ملتانست و اندرو بازارها و يت خانهاست  
و اندرو درخت چلغوزه و بادام و جوز هندی بسيارست و همه بت پرستند و اندروی هيچ مسلمان نيست ٥

1. Lane-Poole, S., *The Mohammadan Dynasties* (Paris, 1925), p. 12.

2. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I.

3. Al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Futūḥ-ul-Buldān* (Cairo, 1901), p. 438.

4. Cf. Laṭīf, Sayyad Muḥammad, *Lahore* (Lahore, 1892), p. 2 and Murgotten, *The Origin of the Islamic State*, p. 210.

5. *Hudūdul 'Ālam* (Tehran, 1352 A.H.), p. 44.

Lahor is a town with numerous districts. Its government (*sultān*) is on behalf of the chief (*amīr*) of Multan. In it there are markets and idol-temples. In it great numbers of pine-trees, almond-trees, and coconut trees are found. All the inhabitants are idolaters and there are no Muslims there.<sup>1</sup>

Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, who resided in India and speaks from personal knowledge of the country at the time of Maḥmūd's invasions at the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era, in his celebrated work *Tārīkhul Hind*, mentions Lahore, not as a city, but as a territory of which the capital was Mandahūkūr :

ثم فيا بين المغرب والشال الى آدت هور تسعة والى جنير ستة والى مندهو كور قصبه لوهاور على شرق  
نهر ايراهو ثمنية. 2

Thence marching towards the north-west, you come to Adittahaur, 9 (*farsakh*) ; Jajjanīr, 6 (*farsakh*) ; Mandahūkūr, the capital of Lauhāvar, east of the river Irāva, 8 (*farsakh*).<sup>3</sup>

Again al-Bīrūnī in his description of the Himalayan mountains observes :

على اليسار يمتد في العارات الى القصبه وعلى اليمين الى قري متصلة على جنوب القصبه ويقضى الى  
جبل كلارجك وهو كالقبة شبيه بجبل دنباوند لا يخرع عنه الثلج ويرى دائما من حدود تاكيشر ولوهاور.

Marching on the left side of the river, you always pass cultivated ground and reach the capital ; marching on the right side, you pass through villages, one close to the other, south of the capital, and thence you reach the mountain Kulārjak, which is like a cupola, similar to the mountain Dunbāvand. The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of Tākīsher and Lauhāvar.<sup>4</sup>

Shaikh Aḥmad Zanjānī, who, according to the statement of Kanhayyā La'ī,<sup>5</sup> wrote his treatise, *Tuḥfatul Vāsilīn*, in 435 A.H./1043 A.D., is supposed to have remarked :

1. Vide Minorsky, V., *Hudūdul 'Ālam* (London, 1937), pp. 89 and 90.

2. Al-Bīrūnī, Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Tārīkhul Hind* (London, 1887), p. 101.

3. Vide Sachau, Edward C., *Alberuni's India* (London, 1888), Vol. I, p. 206.

4. Vide Sachau, Edward C., *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, pp. 207 & 208.

5. Vide Kanhayyā La'ī, *Tārīkh-e-Lāhore* (Lahore, 1884), p. 9. Kanhayyā La'ī remarks :

شيخ احمد زنجاني صاحب رسالة تحفة الواصلين جس نے وہ کتاب سنہ ۴۳۵ ہجری عہد سلطان مسعود غزوی  
عقام لاہور اس کے علماء و فضلاء کے حال میں لکھی ہے . . . .

"Shaikh Aḥmad Zanjānī, the author of the treatise, *Tuḥfatul Vāsilīn*, who wrote this work in Lahore about the learned people of this town, in the year 435 A.H. during the time of Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghazni . . . . ."

The whole of this statement is not correct, because Mas'ūd I reigned from 421 A.H./1030 A.D. to 432 A.H./1040 A.D. So either the book was written in 432 A.H./1040 A.D. or it was written during the reign of Maudūd, the successor of Mas'ūd I. I have not been able to trace this work.

' This (Lahore) town was first of all founded by Rāja Parīchhit, who was a great Rāja from the descendants of Pāṇḍavas. After some time this town was depopulated on account of famines, etc., and was laid waste for many centuries. During the time of Rāja Bikramājī the town was ordered to be populated again and little progress had been made in this direction when Bikramājī died, and Samand Pāl Jōgī succeeded him. The town prospered during his reign and was named Samand Pāl Nagārī. The town continued to flourish for a long time. Afterwards, when Rāja Dīp Chand became the king of Delhi, he gave away the Panjab as a jāgir to his nephew, Lohār Chand, who, on acquiring perfect control over the whole of the Panjab, made it (Lahore) his capital. He tried to add to the prosperity of the town and discarding the name of Samand Pāl Nagārī named it Lohārpur, after his own name. This name during the course of time was corrupted into Lahore!'

Describing an expedition of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, in Kashmīr, Gardīzī, the author of *Zainul Akhbār*, observes in 440 A.H./1048 A.D. :

و چون سنه اثنی عشر واربعمائه اندر آمد قصد کشمیر کرد و حصار لوهركوت را اندر پیچید و یكاه  
آنجا قیام کرد و از آنچه قلعه بغایت منیع و محکم بود نتوانست كشاد . و اندرین سال امیر نصر بن  
ناصرالدین رحمه الله فرمان یافتہ بود و امیر یوسف بن ناصرالدین رحمه الله با یمین الدوله رفته بود .  
و چون لوهركوت كسادن ممكن نگشت از آن دره بیرون آمد بر جانب لوهور و تاكیشہ رفت .<sup>1</sup>

In the year 412 he (Maḥmūd) attacked Kashmīr and besieged the fortress of Loharkot. He stayed there for one month, but as the fort was exceptionally high and strong he could not conquer it. In the same year Amīr Naṣr b. Nāsiruddīn (May he rest in peace!) had died and Amīr Yūsuf b. Nāsiruddīn (May he rest in peace!) was accompanying Yamīnuddaulah (Maḥmūd). But as Loharkot could not be conquered he (Maḥmūd) came out of that pass and proceeded towards Lohūr and Tākīshar.

The same author names the province 'Lahore,' when he refers to the conferment of the viceroyalty of this province by Mas'ūd on his son Majdūd :

پس امیر مجدود بن مسعود را رحمہا الله ولایت لاهور داد و فیل و علم داد و او را با حشم و حاشیت  
سوی لاهور بفرستاد و خود سوی غزنین آمد .<sup>2</sup>

Then he (Mas'ūd) gave the kingdom of Lahore to Amir Majdūd b. Mas'ūd (May both of them rest in peace!) and conferred upon him the royal insignia (literally, drum and standard). He then sent him with retinue and attendants towards Lahore and himself returned to Ghaznī.

Sayyid 'Alī Ḥajvīrī, a mystic saint and scholar of the eleventh century of the Christian era, who lived in Lahore for a considerable number of

1. Gardīzī, Abū-Sa'īd 'Abdul Hay b. aḍ-Ḍaḥāk b. Maḥmūd, *Zain-ul-Akhbār* (Berlin, 1928), p. 79.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

years and died here between 465 A.H./1072 A.D. and 469 A.H./1076 A.D., remarks in his book *Kashful Mahjūb* :

1. من اندر دیار هند در بلده لہانور کہ از مضافات ملتان است در میان ناچسان گرفتار شدہ بودم .

In the country of India I myself had become a captive among uncongenial folk in the town of Lahānor, which is a dependency of Multan.<sup>2</sup>

Abul Faḍl Muḥammad b. Husain Baihaqī,<sup>3</sup> a famous Persian Historian of the eleventh century of the Christian era, who is the author of history of the Ghaznavīs in three volumes, writing in 450-51 A.H./1058-59 A.D. about the life of Mas'ūd, the son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, in his book *Tārīkh-e-Baihaqī*, makes mention of Lahore along with the fort of Mandkakūr, a variation of the name of the place which is mentioned by al-Bīrūnī as the capital of the province of Lahore :

ونیمہ این ماہ ( رمضان سن خمس و عشرين واربعمائہ ) نامہا رسید از لہور کہ احمد نیالتکین با بسیار مردم آنجا آمد وقاضی شیراز وجملہ مصلحان در قلعہ مند ککور رفتند و پیوستہ جنگ است ونواحی میکنند و پیوستہ فساد است . امیر سخت اندیشمند شد کہ دل مشغول بود از سہ جانب بسبب ترکانان عراق و خوارزم و لہور بدین سبب کہ شرح کردم .<sup>4</sup>

In the middle of this month (Ramaḍān 425 A.H./July 1033 A.D.) letters were received from Lahor, stating that Aḥmad Niāltigīn had arrived there with several men ; that Qāḍī Shīrāz, with all his counsellors had entered the fort of Mandkakūr ; that there was perpetual fighting ; and that the whole neighbourhood was in a state of turmoil and agitation. The Amir became thoughtful, because his mind was troubled from three different sources, viz., the Turkomāns of 'Irāq, Khwārazm, and Lahor, as I have already described.<sup>5</sup>

Abul Faraj Rūnī, a great poet, writing a Qaṣīda of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, a grandson of Maḥmūd, names the town or the province Lohāvar in 472 A.H./1079 A.D. :

کشید رایت منصور سوی لوہاور بطالعی کہ تولا کند بدو تقویم<sup>6</sup>

He (Ibrāhīm) proceeded towards Lohāvar with victorious banners and with a fortune which was favoured by the stars.

1. Hajviri, Sayyid 'Ali, *Kashful-Mahjūb* (Panjab University Library Manuscript No. Pc. IV, 7b, f. 56b).

2. Vide Nicholson, Reynold A., *the Kashful-Mahjūb* (London, 1911), p. 91.

3. d. 470 A.H./1077 A.D. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 592.

4. Baihaqī, *Tārīkh-e-Baihaqī* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 523.

5. Vide Elliot & Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (London, 1877), Vol. II p. 129.

6. Rūnī, *The Diwān* (Tehran, 1304 A.H.), p. 86.

Al-Idrīsī<sup>1</sup> (Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Muḥd.-b.-'Abdullāh-bin-Idrīs), one of the most eminent Arab geographers of Sibta, who composed his famous system of geography, *Nuzhatul Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāqul Āfāq*,<sup>2</sup> which has been translated into Latin by several authors, names the town Lahāvar in his work :

The towns of India are numerous ; among them may be mentioned Māhmal, Kambāya, Sūbara, Asāval, Janāval, Sindān, Saimūr, Sandūr, Rūmala ; in the desert : Kahata, Aughasht, Nahrvara, and Lahāvar.:

Turning to early literary references we find that Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, a Panjabi poet, who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century of the Christian era, and who probably died in 515 A.H./1121 A.D., refers in his *Dīwān* very often to Lahore, but almost always gives it a different name ; e.g., Lahāvūr, Lohāvūr, Lāvahur, Lovhūr, Lohūr, and Lahore. In a Qaṣīda in praise of 'Alī, the favourite of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, he says :

درویشی و نیستی ز لوهور بر کند و بحضرت فرستاد<sup>4</sup>

Poverty and want drove me forth from Lohūr and sent me to the capital (Ghaznī).<sup>5</sup>

In another qaṣīda he writes :

رسید عید و من از روی حور دلبر دور چگونه باشم بی روی آن بهشتی حور  
مرا که گوید کای دوست عید فرخ باد نگار من به لهور و من به نیشاپور

.....  
چه یاد شهر لهور و یارخویش کنم نبود کسی که شد از شهر و یارخویش نفور  
مرا به است بهر حالی و بهر وجهی جمال حضرت غزنی ز شهر لوهاور<sup>6</sup>

The festal time is come, and I am far from the face of that charming houri ;

How can I exist without the face of that houri of paradise ?

Who shall say to me, ' O friend, a happy festival to thee,'

When my sweetheart is at Lahāvūr while I am in Nīshāpūr ?

Why do I recall the city of Lahāvūr and my friends ?

Because no one can be indifferent to his friends and his native land.

Yet, in any case and in every way, to me

The beauty of the capital of Ghaznī is better than the city of Lohāvūr.<sup>7</sup>

1. d. 560 A.H./1166 A.D., *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 451.

2. Beale, T. W., *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1894), p. 175.

3. Vide Elliot & Dowson, I, 84.

4. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Dīwān* (Ed. 1296 A.H.), p. 49.

5. Vide Qazwīnī, Mirzā Muḥammad b. 'Abdul Wahhāb, *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 704.

6. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Dīwān*, p. 98.

7. Vide *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 706.

In another *Qaṣīda* entirely addressed to Lahore, wherein he grieves and pines for the days passed in his native town, he says :

ای لاهور ویک بی من چگونہ<sup>1</sup> ی آفتاب تابان و روشن چگونہ<sup>1</sup>

O Lāohūr, well-a-way, how farest thou without me ?  
How canst thou be bright without the luminous Sun ?<sup>2</sup>

In another poem, after complaining of his imprisonment, he makes the following request of some great man :

مخملی باید از خداوندم کہ ازو بوی لوهور آید  
کہ می ز آرزوی لوهور جان و دل درتم می ناید<sup>3</sup>

I want from my lord some velvet from which emanates the fragrance of Lovāhūr,

For, through longing for Lohāvar, heart and soul faint within me.<sup>4</sup>

In another passage, while complaining of the filth of his prison, and indicating the comfort which he enjoyed in his own country, he says :

گرما نہ سه داشتم بلاهور وین نزد همه کسی عیان است  
امروز سه سال شد کہ مویم مانند موئی کافران است<sup>5</sup>

I had three baths at Lahore, a fact patent to everyone ;  
To-day it is three years since my hair became like the hair of the unbelievers.<sup>6</sup>

In another passage wherein, after describing his prison, he expresses his longing for his country, he says :

از زمانہ نکرده ام گنہ تاکہ دانسته ام کہ محبو راست  
مر مرا گہ گہ رنج کند همه ام یوہ لہا وور است<sup>7</sup>

I have not uttered one complaint against Fortune, since I know that she acts under compulsion :

The only thing which troubles me from time to time is my longing for Lahāvūr.<sup>8</sup>

1. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Dīwān*, p. 200.

2. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 706.

3. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Dīwān*, p. 255.

4. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 707.

5. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Dīwān*, p. 251.

6. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 707.

7. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Dīwān*, p. 24.

8. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 707.

And lastly in the following quatrain, also composed in prison, he thus speaks of his longing for his country :

دانی تو که بایند گرانم یارب دانی که ضعیف و ناتوانم یارب  
شد در غم لوهور روانم یارب یارب که در آرزوی آم یارب<sup>1</sup>

Thou knowest that I lie in grievous bonds, O Lord !

Thou knowest that I am weak and feeble, O Lord !

My spirit goes out in longing for Lohūr, O Lord !

O Lord, how I crave for it, O Lord !<sup>2</sup>

Abul Hasan 'Alī b. Zaid Baihaqī, called ibn-e-Funduq, wrote a history of his native district of Baihaq in 563 A.H./1168 A.D.<sup>3</sup> In this history, giving the details of the kingdom of the Ghaznavīs, he remarks that Loh-āvūr was a province or region :

ملک ایشان از دیار خراسان و عراق منقطع گشت و باغزی اتاد فی شہور سنہ ثمان و عشرين  
وار بمائے ، و از غزنین منقطع شدہ است و با دیار لوهاور و برشاوور و آن طرف افتادہ از سنہ خمس و  
خمسین و خمسائے .<sup>4</sup>

In the year 428 their dominions ceased in the countries of Khurāsān and 'Irāq and shifted to Ghaznī. And in the year 555 their dominions ceased in Ghaznī and shifted to the country of Lohāvūr and Barshāvūr (Peshawar).

Yāqūt b. 'Abdullāh, a famous Arab geographer, in his monumental work, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*, completed in 621 A.H./1224 A.D., mentions the name of the place as Lauhūr as well as Lahāvūr, and names the capital of the province Mandakūr :

لوهور بفتح اوله وسكون ثانيه والهاء واخره راء والمشهور من اسم هذا البلد لهاوور وهي مدينة  
عظيمة مشهورة في بلاد الهند .<sup>5</sup>

Lauhūr is generally known as Lanavūr. It is a big and well-known town in India.

مندکور بالفتح ثم السكون وفتح الدال وسكون الكاف و همزة على واو و راء مدينة وهي قصبه  
لوهور من نواحي الهند في سمت غزنه .<sup>6</sup>

Mandakūr : It is a town, which is the capital of Lauhūr, a city of India, in the direction of Ghazna.

1. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Dīwān*, p. 293.

2. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 708.

3. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 592.

4. Baihaqī, Abul Hasan 'Alī b. Zaid, *Tārīkh e Baihaq* (Tehran, 1317 Khurshīdī), p. 71.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān* (Leipzig, 1886), Vol. IV, p. 371.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*, Vol. IV, p. 660.



Here is a traditional record of the history of the foundation of Lahore. Hitherto no author has traced the history of Lahore earlier than the times mentioned by Sharif-e-Muhammad b. Mansūr, who wrote a treatise on the art of war, etc., in the time of Sultān Iltutmish (1210-1236). In his work entitled *Adābul Harb wash Shujā'a*, Sharif-e-Muhammad remarks :

و در تاریخ چنین آمده است که حج بن بهندرا که والی لوهور بود و بنای لوهور او نهاده است او بگذشت . پسری بود او را بنرت نام مردی عادل . روزگاری آرمیده داشت و آنجا در لوهور مسجد خشتی است بتخانه کرد . و صورتی از سنگ بر سرودتا برآشیدند و آنرا آفتاب نام کرده بود و مذهب او آفتاب پرستی بود و عمری دراز یافته بود و سه سال از انجمله هفتاد و پنج سال امیر لوهور بود .<sup>1</sup>

It is related that Haj (Chach ?) b. Bhandrā, who was the ruler and founder of Lohūr, had died, and had a son named Banrat (?), who was a just person under whose benevolent administration the people enjoyed peace. In Lohūr he ordered a temple to be constructed on the site where now stands the brick mosque. He ordered an idol to be made of stone and named it "the Sun." He worshipped the Sun. He lived to the advanced age of 93 years and ruled Lohūr for seventy-five years.<sup>2</sup>

The famous Indian poet Amīr Khusrāw in his *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, compiled in 688 A.H./1289 A.D., names the town Lāohūr. Writing about the attack of the Mughals on the Panjab he says :

از قدم شوم مغل آن بلاد نام و نشان ز عارت نداد  
از حد سامانه و تا لوهور هیچ عارت نه مگر در قصور<sup>3</sup>

In that country not a sign of a building remained when the wretched steps of Mughals trod on it.

From the boundary of Sāmāna to Lāohūr every building was shaky (or, no building was left except in Qusūr).

The famous historian Rashīduddīn has only repeated the words of al-Bīrūnī in his *Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh* (828 A.H./1424 A.D.):

و سالک چون بر یسار آن برود ممتد بر عارات باقصبات بدیهائی چند که متصل اند بر جنوب قصبه و بمقضى تابکوه لارجک که او مانند کوه دماوند است و میان او و صحرائی کشمیر دو فرسنگ است و دایما از حدود کشمیر و لها و آنرا توان دید.<sup>4</sup>

Whoever travels along the left bank (of the river) will find villages and towns which are close to one another on the south of the capital and as far as the mountain Lārjak, which resembles the mountain Damā-

1. Sharif-e-Muhammad b. Mansūr, *Adāb-ul-Harb-wash Shujā'a* (British Museum Manuscript Add. 16, 853) f. [This book is styled *Adāb-ul Mulūk wa Kifāyāt-ul Mamlūk* in *Ethēs Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the India Office Library* (Column 1493), but I had access to the rotographs of the British Museum Manuscript].

2. Compare with the translation in the *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 491.

3. Khusrāw, Amīr, *Qirān-us-Sa'dain* (Aligarh, 1918), p. 64.

4. Rashīduddīn, *Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh* (Panjab University Library Manuscript, Pe I, 55), f. 662.

vand, between which and Kashmīr there is a distance of two farsangs. It can be seen from the boundaries of Kashmīr and Lohāvar.<sup>1</sup>

And again :

پس آنچه میان شا، و مغرب است تا ادت هور نه و تا ججنیر ششی، و تا مندهو کور قصبه لوهاور  
بشت فرسنگ . . .<sup>2</sup>

In going north-west from the latter place (Sanām) to Ādittahaur, nine farsangs ; thence to Jajjanīr, six ; thence to Mandhūkūr, the capital of Lohāvar, on the east of the river Irāva, eight.....<sup>3</sup>

Haider Mirzā Doghlat, who conquered Kashmīr in the time of Humā-yūn (947 A.H./1540 A.D.) and later on became the king of that country, has fixed the position of Lahore in his famous work Tārīkh-e-Rashīdī, compiled in 1544-47 A.D. In the description of the position of mountains and plains of Tibet he remarks :

چنانچه عقبه بالاشدن از جانب یار کند سانجو است و عقبه فرود آمدن بر جانب کشمیر عقبه اشکار دو  
است از ان تاباین عقبه بیست روزه راه باشد و هم چنین بر مغرب زمستان ختن بعضی از بلاد هند  
واقع است چون لاهور و سلطان پور و با جواره.<sup>4</sup>

The pass ascending from Yārkand is the pass of Sānjū, and the pass descending on the side of Kashmīr is the pass of Ashkārdū. [From the Sānjū pass to the Ashkārdū pass] is twenty days' journey. In the direction of winter sunset from Khutan are some of the cities of Hind, such as Lahore, Sultānpur and Bājwāra.....<sup>5</sup>

Jamāluddīn Husain Injū, a grandee of Jahāngīr's time, furnishes us with useful information about the name of Lahore authenticated by verses of eminent Indian and Iranian poets. In his Persian dictionary called Farhang-e-Jahāngīrī, which he compiled in 1017 A.H./1608 A.D. and dedicated to the emperor Jahāngīr, he says :

لاهور و لاهور و لوهاور و لوهور و لاهاور و لاهانور نام شهر است ز ملک هندوستان که بلاهور  
اشتهار دارد .

ابوالفرج رونی      بلاهور در آمد میان موکب خویش      بزینتی که بر آید شب چهارده ماه  
امیر خسرو فرماید      از حد سامانه تا لاهور      هیچ عارت نیست مگر در قصور  
از ابوالفرج رونی است      کشید رایت منصور سوی لوهاور      بطالعی که تولا کند بدو تقویم  
حکیم ثنائی منظوم ساخته      ای بزرگان غزنه و لوهور      چشم بد زین زمانه بادا دور  
شیخ نظامی راست      ندیم خاص بودش شاپور      جهان گشته ز مشرق تا لها نور<sup>6</sup>

1. Vide Elliot and Dowson, I, 65.

2. Rashiduddin, Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh, f. 661b.

3. Vide Elliot and Dowson, I, 62.

4. Doghlat, Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī (Panjab University Library Manuscript, A Pe I, 9a), f. 604.

5. Elias, N., and Ross, E. D., the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī (London, 1895), p. 405.

6. Injū, Farhang-e-Jahāngīrī (P.U.L. MS.), Vol. II, f. 75 b.

Lāohūr, Lānhor, Lohāvar, Lohūr, Lahāvar, Lahāvār, and Lahānūr are the (different) names of a town of India, which is known as Lahore. (The translation of the verses is omitted as most of them have been already translated).

This is a pure and authentic history, recorded as it is, about the name and date of foundation of Lahore. I have reproduced it word by word. Looking back into this faithful record the following inferences can be drawn :

(i) The earliest definite reference to Lahore is made by al-Balādhurī, the Arab chronicler, in the latter half of the ninth century of the Christian era, in his *Futūḥul-Buldān*, wherein the town is named Alahvār. Lahore is not mentioned by any other traveller, geographer, or historian earlier than this.

(ii) Lahore has been differently named by different authors ; one author has even named it in several ways. The following are the different variants employed by chroniclers, historians, and geographers :

الاهور	Alahvār ;
لهور	Lahor, Lahūr or Lahore ;
لوهاور	Lauhāvar, Lūhāvar or Lohāvar ;
لوهور	Lohūr, Lohor, Lauhor or Lauhūr ;
لهاور	Lahānor, Lahānūr or Lahānaur ;
لوهāvūr	Lohāvūr ;
لهاāvūr	Lahāvūr ;
لاوهور	Lāohūr ;
لهاور	Lohāvar ;
لانهور	Lānhor ;
لهاوār	Lahāvār ;
لاهور	Lahore.

Why these twelve variants are used is not known. There is another notable thing about the names : one and the same name is used by different authors at different times, so no one name is older than another, and there is no chronological order in the use of the names.

(iii) The town (or fort) of Mandahukūr (Mandkakūr or Mandakūr) is mentioned as the capital of the province of Lahore, and as a separate town from that of Lahore.

Obviously when a region or country is named Lahore, the writer means the province of the Panjab of those days, which had its capital at Mandakūr.

Mandakūr, or any of its variants, is not traceable in these days. Amongst western orientalist and historians Thomas is the first person to identify this city with Lahore, suggesting that it is a corrupt form of

Mahmūdpur.<sup>1</sup> This is the basis of his conclusions. Some coins struck at Mahmūdpur by Mahmūd of Ghaznī are preserved in the British and Lahore Museums. I have personally examined all the coins preserved in the Lahore Museum. None of them bears a date, but the cataloguer, taking a hint from the cataloguer of coins of the British Museum,<sup>2</sup> has also included dates in the transcription of the legends of the coins, and this is how he has reproduced the legend<sup>3</sup> from one of the coins :

Obverse		Reverse
अव्यक्तमेक मुहम्मद अ वतार (नृप) <sup>4</sup> (ति) <sup>4</sup> महमूद	ب ر	القادر لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله يمين الدولة وامين الحلة محمود
Margin : अयं टंकं महमूदपुर घटे(त) <sup>4</sup> (ता) <sup>4</sup> जिकीयेर संवती ४१९		Margin : بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمحمود پورسنه تسع عشره واربع مائه

This is a silver bilingual coin which bears a Sanskrit inscription (*Abyaktameka, Muhammad Avatār, Nripati Mahmūd*. Margin : (*Āyam ṭaṅkam Mahmūdpur ghatet Tājikiyera Samvatī 419*) on the obverse, and an Arabic inscription in Kufic letters on the reverse. The Kufic dies for these coins seem to have been entrusted to first-class artists, for they are always excellently fashioned and correctly marked in the details ; whereas the legends on Sanskrit face of the coins vary considerably in their execution, and the orthography and the forms of the characters themselves are crude. The Arabic inscription rendered into English reads thus : Alqādir Billah ; there is no god but God, Muḥammad is the Prophet of God ; Yamīnuḍḍaulah, Amīnūl Millat Mahmūd. Margin : Begin in the name of God. This dirham was struck at Mahmūdpur in 419.

The Sanskrit inscription means :

The Invisible (is) One Muḥammad incarnation King Mahmūd.

Margin : This ṭaṅkam (was) struck at Mahmūdpur, (in) the Arabic Samvat 419.

Thomas happened to see some similar coins struck by Mahmūd and without either rhyme or reason jumped to the conclusion that Mahmūdpur, a corruption of Mandakūr, was the name of Lahore, where these coins were struck in 419 A.H./1028 A.D., that is about three years before the death of Mahmūd. Talking about ṭanka in his *Chronicles of the Pathan*

1. Cf. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India* (Calcutta, 1924), p. 228 and Thomas, Edward, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* (London, 1871), p. 47.

2. *British Museum Catalogue of Coins*, Vol. II, No. 510, p. 151.

3. Rodgers, C. J., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Government Museum, Lahore*, (Calcutta, 1891), p. 27.

4. These letters have not been deciphered by Rodgers, the cataloguer, but they are there.

Kings of Delhi, he remarks : " Moreover, it may be seen how distinctly the *ṭankah* was the accepted and recognised term in India by the fact that the great Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, while continuing to make use of the ordinary mint designation of *dirham*, in the Kufic legend of his new Lāhor coinage of 'Maḥmūdpur' admits the corresponding word *ṭaka* (or *ṭanka*) in the Sanskrit legend, on the reverse."<sup>1</sup> And in the foot-note Thomas has suggested that *Mandūkūr* and its variants are a corruption of *Maḥmūdpur*.

From this statement we cannot discover how Thomas has been able to decide that by *Maḥmūdpur* Maḥmūd of Ghaznī meant Lahore and that *Mandūkūr* is a corrupted form of *Maḥmūdpur*. But Rodgers has further misled people and has tried to perpetuate this conjecture by writing in his lectures on *Coin Collecting in Northern India* : " One series of coins he (Maḥmūd) struck in Lahore. On one side in the centre was the Mahomedan confession of faith, together with the name and titles of Maḥmūd ; on the margin was a statement of the fact that the coin was struck at *Mahmūdpur*, as it pleased the conqueror to rename Lahore, and the year. The other side was covered with Sanskrit."<sup>2</sup>

I do not feel convinced by this conjecture for various reasons. Firstly there is no reason to believe that eminent men like al-Bīrūnī would have corrupted *Maḥmūdpur* into *Mandūkūr* ; particularly when we know that al-Bīrūnī was a contemporary and companion of Maḥmūd, and was well-versed in the literature of the Hindus. Secondly it has not been mentioned anywhere in any chronicle, history, or literary composition like a *Qaṣīda*, that Maḥmūd renamed Lahore and called it *Maḥmūdpur*. Such an event should have figured prominently somewhere in some record, but, as it is, we do not find a single reference to this imaginary episode. Besides, it is a remarkable fact that no mention of Lahore is to be found in the *Tārīkh-e-Yamīnī* of 'Utbī (420 A.H./1029 A.D.), who held many responsible positions under Maḥmūd and travelled with him, although 'Utbī has made a reference to Maḥmūd's crossing of the Rāwī in his book.

وعبر مياه سيحون وجيلمر وچندرايه وايرابه وشتلذ سالما في سالمين . وهذه اودية تجل  
اعا قها عن الاوصاف وتمنع اطرافها عن الاطراف . منها مايعمر غوارب الفيول فكيف كواهل الخيول<sup>3</sup>

He (the Sultān) crossed in safety the Sīhūn (Indus), Jelam, Chandrāha, Irābah (Rāwī) and Shataludz. These are all rivers, deep beyond description ; even elephants' bodies are concealed in them, so it may easily be conceived what is the case with horses.<sup>4</sup>

1. Thomas, Edward, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 27.

2. Rodgers, Charles J., *Coin-Collecting in Northern India* (Allahabad, 1851) pp. 58 and 59.

3. 'Utbī, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Jabbār, *Tārīkh-e-Yamīnī*, (Lahore, 1860), p. 305.

4. See Elliot and Dowson, II, 41.

Similarly Mas'ūdī (d. 345 A.H./965 A.D.), the "Herodotus of the Arabs," who wrote in the tenth century of the Christian era, and himself sojourned at Multan, does not mention Lahore or Mandūkūr in his famous geography *Murūj al-Dhahab*.<sup>1</sup>

So the results of my inquiries are :— (i) Lahore, Maḥmūdpur and Mandakūr are all different places ; (ii) Maḥmūd definitely struck coins in Maḥmūdpur, but this town cannot be identified from the available sources of information, although the Sanskrit legends on the coins testify to the fact that Maḥmūdpur was definitely in India ; (iii) Mandakūr was the capital of the province of Lahore (Panjab), but it again cannot be identified, although Thornton has suggested that it is a corrupted form of Mānkot, a place near Sialkot. "Now," says Thornton, "Madhokor might easily, from the similarity between *h* and *n*, and *r* and final *t*, in the Arabic character, be corrupted from Mankot or Mandhukot, a place near Sialkot. The supposition is rendered more probable by the fact that, in after-times, Shir Shah, the so-called usurper,—but, as will be hereafter pointed out, in reality the representative of the anti-Mogul, or anti-foreigner party,—seriously contemplated removing the seat of Government from Lahore, which had become associated with Mogul supremacy, to this very place, the capital of the last dynasty."<sup>2</sup> Thornton's guess would have fitted in very well but, in fact, no such place as Mankot or Mandhukot is traceable near Sialkot, as he asserts.

(iv) The government of Lahore was on behalf of the chief of Multan in 372 A.H./982 A.D., and it was a dependency of Multan in 465 A.H./1072 A.D.

(v) At least up to 372 A.H./982 A.D. there was no Muslim living in the town of Lahore, and it was inhabited only by Hindus.

(vi) There is no contemporary evidence to prove definitely that a certain person at a certain time founded this town. The traditions name different founders, some of which are the following :—

(a) Rājā Parīchhit, who was a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas.

(b) Lohār Chand, who was the nephew of Rājā Dīp Chand.

As has been already stated, this is all the traceable pre-Muslim history of Lahore, which neither gives us the exact date of its foundation nor the definite name of its founder. Lahore suddenly seems to spring into existence and prominence in the latter half of the ninth century of the Christian era. This may not be a fact, and very probably it is not, but all the same we have no authentic source from which we can prove the existence of Lahore earlier than this time. But many conjectures, some of them ingenious and based upon very striking probabilities, have been made to fix the date of foundation and the name of the founder of Lahore.

1. Vide Mas'ūdī, Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain, *Murūj al-Dhahab* (Paris, 1863), and Sprenger, A., *Measures of Gold and Mines of Gems* (London, 1841).

2. Thornton, T. H., *Lahore*, p. 61.

Necessarily these have to be noted. They will be discussed here in chronological order.

Here are some of the most popular legendary and traditional accounts written by western and oriental writers about the founders of Lahore:

Bernier in a letter written to Monsieur De Merveilles from Lahore in February 1665, casually remarks: "Whether Lahor be the ancient Bucefalos, I do not pretend to determine. Alexander is here well known by the name of Sekander Filfous, or Alexander the son of Philip: concerning his horse, however, they know nothing."<sup>1</sup>

Sujān Rāe, the author of *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh*, writing in 1107 A.H./1695-96 A.D. reproduces the popular legend that Lava, the son of Rāma Chandra, was the founder of Lahore, and that the capital of the Panjab was shifted to Sialkot when Lahore was depopulated:

لاهور مصریست متقدمین برکنار دریائے راوی، آبادی آنرا به لو خلف راجہ رام چندر نسبت میدهند  
در بعضی تواریخ لہور و لہاور نیز می نویسند. چون از گردش چرخ دوار بعد امتداد ادوار  
در ارکان آبادی آن انہدام رو داد قلیلی نشان معموری ماندہ دارالحکومت این ولایت شہر سیالکوٹ  
گردید.<sup>2</sup>

Lahore is an ancient town situated on the bank of the Rāvi. It is related that Lava, the son of Rājā Rām Chand, founded it. In some books of history it is also styled Lahūr and Lahāvar. As time passed, its inhabitants began to decrease and the population became thin. Then Siālkot became the capital of this region.

Khairullāh Fidā, a Panjabi poet, thinks Ayāz was the founder of Lahore. In an *épopée*, *Mirzā Shāhibān*, written by him in 1155 A.H./1742 A.D. Fidā says:

نیست در هیچ کشوری مشہور      شہر دیگر بخون لہور  
زین بنا حسن و عشق مقصودست      بانی او ایاز محمودست<sup>3</sup>

A town with the beauties of Lahore is not known in any kingdom.

The foundation of this town was inspired by Beauty and Love and Ayāz of Maḥmūd was its founder.

Murtazā Ḥusain, the author of *Ḥadiqatul Aqālīm*, written in 1202 A.H./1787 A.D. has only carelessly quoted Sujān Rāe:

لاهور شہریست در ہندوستان بر ساحل دریائی راوی. مولف خلاصۃ التواریخ می نویسد کہ ہندوان  
آبادی آفرایا بخلف رام چند کہ لہور نام داشت نسبت می دهند.<sup>4</sup>

1. Bernier, Francois, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, (Oxford, 1934), p. 383.

2. Sujān Rāe Bhandāri, *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh* (Delhi, 1918), p. 64.

3. Fidā, Khairullāh, *Mirzā Shāhibān* (MS. owned by Ghulām Dastagīr Nāmī of Lahore), f. 76.

4. Murtazā Ḥusain, *Ḥadiqatul Aqālīm* (Panjab University Library MS., p. 8) f. 192.

Lahore is a town in India, situated on the bank of the Rāvi. The compiler of *Khulāsta-ut-Tawārīkh* writes: Hindus relate that Lahor (Lava), the son of Rām Chand, founded it.

The following authors have all stated that Lava, the son of Rāma, was the founder of Lahore:

Todd (1832): "Rāma had two sons, Lava and Kusa: from the former the Rana's family claim descent. He is stated to have built Lahore, . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Būṭe Shāh (1258 A.H./1847 A.D.):

شہر بنست پاستانی کہ بناء آنرا بہ لو پسر راجہ رام چندر پسر جسرت نسبت میکنند .<sup>2</sup>

It is an ancient town, which is said to have been founded by Lava, the son of Rāja Rāma Chandra, the son of Jasrat.

Chishtī (1867):

راجہ رام چندر کے دو بیٹے ایک کشو اور دوسرا لوهو نہیے . لوهو نے شہر لاہور آباد کیا .<sup>3</sup>

Rāja Rāma Chandra had two sons, viz., Kushū and Lohū. Lohū founded the town of Lahore.

Cunningham (1871): "The great city of Lahore, which has been the capital of the Panjab for nearly nine hundred years, is said to have been founded by Lava, the son of Rāma, after whom it was named Lohāwar."<sup>4</sup>

Kanhayyā La'l (1882):

عموما مشہور ہے کہ مہاراجہ رام چندر اوتار کے فرزند مسمی لو نے نہ شہر آباد کیا اور لویور نام رکھا تھا . صدھا بلکہ ہزارھا سال کی مدت گزرنے کے سبب سے لویور کا لفظ بگڑ کر لاہور مشہور ہو گیا .<sup>5</sup>

It is generally known that Lava, the son of Mahārāja Rāma Chandra, the *avatār*, founded this town and named it Lavpur. After many centuries Lavpur was corrupted into Lahore.

Temple (1884): "The name Lāhore, in full Lāhāwar or Lāh's fort, is usually derived from Lava, the son of Rāma Chandra."<sup>6</sup>

Gulab Singh (1884): "Lahōr (Lahore) is variously called Lahār, Lāhār, Lohār, Lāhāwar, and Lohāwar. According to Hindu tradition it is named after Rāma Chandra's son, Loū (Lava). Afterwards when this prince's kingdom sank, the capital was removed to Sialkot. During the rule of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī his favourite Malik Ayāz repopulated the town and built a substantial fort."<sup>7</sup>

1. Todd James, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajisthan*, (Oxford, 1920), Vol. I, p. 252.

2. Būṭe Shāh, *Tārīkh-e-Panjāb* (P.U.L. MS. A Pe III 8), f. 16b.

3. Chishtī, Nūr Ahmad *Tahqīqāt-e-Chishtī*, (Lahore, 1867), p. 793.

4. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 226.

5. Kanhayyā La'l, *Tārīkh-e-Lahore*, p. 7.

6. Temple, R. C., *Panjab Notes and Queries* (Allahabad, 1884), Vol. I, March, 1884, p. 68.

7. Gulab Singh, *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. I, February 1884, p. 57.



In the classical Greek accounts we do not find Lahore mentioned in connection with Alexander. Yet there can be no doubt that Alexander crossed the Rāvi in the vicinity of Lahore, and must in all probability have passed the site of the modern city. If, therefore, any place of importance had existed at the time, it would doubtless have been mentioned. So it is not probable that Lahore was founded before the first century A.D. In the next place, no city answering in name or description to Lahore occurs in Strabo, who wrote between 60 B.C. and 19 A.D. and whose object was "to correct the earlier works in the light of the increase of knowledge;" nor does it appear in Pliny's description of the royal road between the Indus and Allahabad, which must have been written between 23 A.D. and 79. A.D.

But, further, in the Geography of Ptolemy, whose name marks the highest pitch of perfection in early geography, and who flourished at Alexandria about 150 A.D., mention is made of a city called Labokla, situated on the route between the Indus and Palibothra, in a tract of country called Kaspeira (Kashmir?), described as extending along the rivers Bidastas (Jehlum), Sandabal (Chandra Bhaga, or Chenab), and Adris (Rāvi). This place Wilford would identify, from its name and position, with Lahore, and the identification is made more probable by the discovery of Cunningham of the Amakatis of Ptolemy, a city placed by him in the immediate vicinity of Labokla, to the West of the Rāvi, in the ruins of Amba Kapi, about 25 miles from Lahore. Cunningham believes the identification of Wilford to be correct. If we agree with these inferences, we can approximately fix the date of the foundation of Lahore at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of the Christian era.<sup>1</sup>

Walker,<sup>2</sup> Hunter<sup>3</sup> and the author of the article on Lahore contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,<sup>4</sup> have remarked that Yüan Chwāng, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim of the seventh century of the Christian era, who visited the Panjāb in 630 A.D., notices the city in his itinerary. This is an error. In the itinerary published by Cunningham no mention of Lahore exists.<sup>5</sup> Besides, this is how this portion of Yüan Chwāng's journey is described by Shamans Hwui Li and Yen Tsung, in their *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*: "From this (Rajpura), going south-east down the mountains and crossing the river, after 700 li or so, he came to the kingdom of Tseh-kia (Takka)." After travelling for some time "on the morrow he arrived at the eastern frontiers of the kingdom of Tcheka (Takka) and

1. Cf. Latif's *Lahore*, pp. 6-7; Cunningham's *Geography*, pp. 225-28; Thornton's *Lahore*, pp. 58-9, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVI, p. 106; Walker's *Lahore District Gazetteer*, p. 20; and Wilford's *Comparative Geography of India*.

2. Walker, Casson, *Lahore District Gazetteer* (Lahore, 1919), p. 20.

3. Hunter, *the Imperial Gazetteer of India*, (Oxford, 1908), XVI, 106.

4. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, (London, 1926), Vol. 13, p. 596.

5. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 644.

entered a great city."<sup>1</sup> This city, Samuel Beale thinks, would probably be Lahore.<sup>2</sup> Thornton also subscribes to this opinion, saying: "A far less dubious mention of Lahore is found, as was pointed out by Major-General Cunningham, in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, who visited the Punjab, 630 A.D. He speaks of a large city, containing many thousands of families, chiefly Brahmans, situated on the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Cheka, which, he says, extended from the Indus to the Byas. From this city he proceeded to Jalandhara, the modern Jullundur. Now Jullundur is situated almost due east of Lahore, and midway between the two cities is a village called Patti to this day. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the great Brahmanical city of Hwan Thsang was the city of Lahore."<sup>3</sup> Now all this is not very logical if we compare the statement with the itinerary of Yüan Chwāng, the Chinese traveller. Yüan Chwāng has clearly stated that the kingdom of Cheka or Takka extended from the Indus to the Bias. He also mentions that travelling south-east from Rajpura he came to the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Cheka, which should naturally be near the Bias. Here he enters a great city, which should be on the Bias river, and as Cunningham has pointed out, must be Kasūr<sup>4</sup> and not Lahore. This disproves the assertion that Yüan Chwāng has directly or indirectly mentioned Lahore in his itinerary.

To borrow an expression from Thornton, "such are the somewhat barren results of inquiries" about the name and date of foundation of Lahore. They may be briefly recapitulated as follows: The city of Lahore, named variously, and possibly the Labokla of Ptolemy, was probably founded as early as the beginning of the second century of the Christian era; it is definitely mentioned first of all in the ninth century; and it did not come into prominence until the period of the invasion of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in the beginning of the eleventh century.

MUHAMMAD BĀQIR.

1. Shamans Hwui Li and Yen-Tsung, *The Life of Huen-Tsang* (London, 1888), pp. 72-74.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 74, f.n.

3. Thornton, T. H., *Lahore*, p. 60.

4. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 229.

LAHORE  
SELECTED HISTORICAL PHOTOS



Lahore Railway Station 1886



Lahore Fort 1864





AKBARI GATE



PRINCE ALBERT MEMORIAL MUSUEM



RANJIT SINGH'S PALACE



**Exhibition Building Lahore (Tollington Market) 1864**



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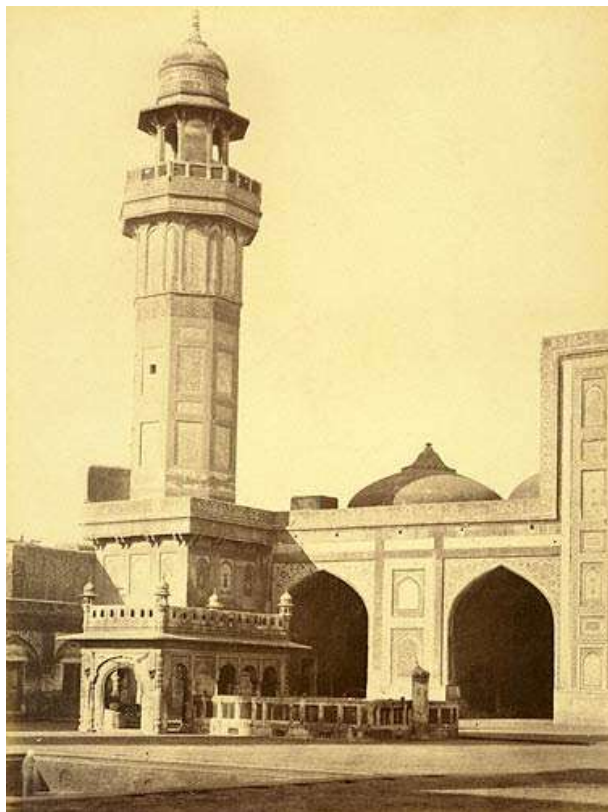
**Jamrud Fort 1870**



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ALAMGIR'S TOMB IN SHAHDHRA



WAZEER KHAN'S MOSQUE